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593 The family is a very important entity among the Isneg, and their family life is comparatively intense. There is no question of man and wife associating only for the duties incident to the procreation of children. All members of the household keep rather close together until the young people are able to form a new family, and even in this case the latter usually remain with their elders for a considerable period of their married life. To establish a family, if possible with plenty of children around, is the ultimate goal of every Isneg boy and [671] girl. In principle the rights of the individual are subordinate to those of the family, while state paternalism cannot be thought of.

177 It is true that actually the Government often interferes with the native customs of the Isneg, and in many cases it could not very well 593 do otherwise, but the latter consider it as alien and regard its ways as entirely contrary to their traditions; they would most certainly like to get rid of it at the first opportunity. The Isneg submit of course, as the constabulary is supposed to be mostly wide awake, but they generally do so very reluctantly and often under protest; occasionally they even disobey, and sometimes not without reason, especially in cases of interference with their traditional family life.

177 Just to give a couple of examples. The local authorities force the parents to send their children to school; anybody who disregards this 871 rule is punished by being obliged to furnish free labor to the Gov- 582 ernment. Now the wisdom of this regulation cannot always reason- 593 ably be doubted, because, if no strict measures were taken, nobody would go to school. But even children of marriageable age very often fall under this rule, as Apayaw is sparsely populated and the officials are anxious to present decent reports to their superiors; and so Isneg parents who allow their children to marry, face a very disagreeable dilemma: they have either to continue to send to school, in this way breaking up the home as they understand it, or to disobey and be liable to be taken into custody by policemen. It should be noted here that the law of the land recognizes such marriages as valid, but local officials sometimes have little regard for them. By this [797] time, however, the Isneg have found a way out, namely by becoming Christians and contracting marriage before the priest. Such marriages are always duly recorded of course, and so the young people escape forced attendance at school, and the parents avoid trouble with the Government. After all it is the Church that helps the Isneg to keep to his original traditions about the essentials of marriage and home life.

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In a certain place, not so long ago, they had a teacher whose moral conduct was, to say the least, rather objectionable. When policemen raided the houses of the Isneg in order to hunt up all children of school age, several Isneg parents bluntly told them that they would gladly send their sons, but with reference to their daughters, as long as that teacher remained in charge, never; and they were perfectly right. That man has since been dismissed from the service.

A few defects, which will be recorded in due time, occasionally mar the picture of Isneg family life; but on the whole, it must be said that the Isneg commonly live up to their comparatively high standards with regard to this most important unit of society. Nevertheless the whole life of the Isneg, from the cradle to the grave, is dominated by the fear of the spirits; superstition, magic and spirit worship are inextricably interwoven with their whole life. If a Caucasian or, to take an example from people born, living and dying in the same surroundings, a Negrito had to live under such a continual fear of the supernatural and to comply with such a large number of practices in order to propitiate higher beings or to elude their malevolent intentions, I think his life would be simply miserable. The Isneg, however, do not seem to mind, and although always on the lookout for disagreeable interventions from above, they live a life free of care and are never anxious about the future. They rarely concern themselves with what the next day might bring them, and live happy and content if to-day their immediate wants are provided for: to-morrow will take care of itself.

This seeming contradiction pervades their whole life. On the one hand, they have to take innumerable precautions for the future with regard to superior beings. On the other hand, they do not seem to care a jot for the days to come even with reference to such essential needs as food and raiment. The solution of this apparent puzzle seems to me to be found in the fact that the Isneg do conscientiously every day what they think they have to do and leave the rest to fate. With reference to the supernatural, if they take all possible means to propitiate the spirits, and disregard no taboos, and so on, they feel assured that nothing untoward will happen to them on the part of the spirits. With reference to daily sustenance and the rest, they feel no such assurance, as they know by practical experience that they cannot control the forces of nature, rain, storms, the growth of plants, etc. By strictly observing all injunctions of the shamans and all traditional rites and practices, they believe it possible to control the

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for you if you can show the girls an *andôri* tattooed on your arm; will they not be eager to get the attentions of such a warrior? Will they not vie with one another in making themselves attractive and pleasing to him? Such a man will be renowned all over the country, and at every public *sây-âm* sacrifice he will recount his brave deeds. Even when he is tottering with old age, people will respect him as they will nobody else, and after he has long been dead, his name will still be pronounced with reverence and given to children as a remembrance of his great deeds, so that his spirit will continue to live on earth in the members of the younger generation who are called by his name. In the realm of the dead his soul will live encircled by the same aureole of a glorious and immortal fame. It is true that actually you can hardly aspire to such great glory: strangers have taken possession of the land, people who know nothing about Isneg heroism and justice, people who would punish you for such an act of courage, people who do not understand that an enemy has no rights, that his head is acceptable to the spirits. But we of the older generation, we at least should not abandon our glorious traditions; and if it might please the spirits or an all-powerful fate to return to us our lost freedom and rid us of constabulary and judges, then, yes, you should not forget that you are an Isneg, that a head is the most precious offering that you can make to the spirits, that taking the head of an enemy, whoever he be, whether dead or alive, will give you a crown not to be equalled by anything else. You know how often these last years we have been visited by locusts and famine. Whose fault is it? Nobody else's but the cursed Ibanags': they forbid us to propitiate the spirits who are craving for human heads, and what can the *anito* do but punish us for our negligence?"

A couple of years ago, a poor Negrito, Kalisto by name, who had just escaped from jail, from which he would have been released very soon as he was innocent of the crime imputed to him, was killed at Tawit by an Isneg, who gave the pygmy's threatening attitude as a pretext for killing him. But after the body had been disinterred and examined, it was found out that a part of the skull was lacking and that it had been severed from the rest by a cutting instrument: this proved to everybody's satisfaction that the case was a headhunting affair and nothing else.

"Every Isneg child should be obedient to its parents. As long as you are unmarried, you have the bounden duty to comply with the wishes of your parents, and not only with those of your parents, but

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593 also with those of your grandparents, of your elder brothers and sisters,
577 and so forth; in short, you should obey any relative of yours who
576 happens to be older than you are. Have you ever heard of a dutiful Isneg child disregarding even the smallest wishes of his parents and elder relatives? Would it not be utter presumption on your part to prefer your own will to that of your elders? If you have relatives around that are younger than you are, brothers, sisters, nephews, nieces, cousins, and so on, then you also have a right to tell them what you want, and you are perfectly right in shifting the heaviest burdens upon their shoulders; but your own elders, listen to them. Obey your elders, and make younger people obey you, that is the Isneg law."

593 When going from Butaw to Ilocos in 1926, I personally assisted at
577 such a shifting of the burden to a younger one's shoulders, which was
576 a practical fulfilment of Isneg law and a very literal one at that. It
888 happened in the case of old *Balúkat*, who together with his son, already a married man, accompanied me on that journey and carried my baggage. Before we started, I had divided the whole load into two almost equal parts, in order to avoid all altercations and lest we suffer any unnecessary delay. But, before we left Butaw, *Balúkat* took away a generous portion of his own share and shifted it to that of his son. Later on, probably convinced that his own package was still a little heavy, he again took off a few articles and solemnly transferred them to the load of his son. On both occasions *Balúkat* gave us the reason for his conduct: the other man was his son and was still young and strong, while he himself was fast becoming old; and again, on both occasions, the younger man complied with the utmost submission and without showing the smallest sign of vexation, taking everything for granted and never losing the smile on his face.

"You should not only obey your parents, but also respect them. Now, with reference to this latter duty, remember that its scope is much wider than that of simple obedience. Everybody who is older than you deserves your respect, and so you owe it not only to your own relatives, but also to all persons who may be considered as your elders, even though they be not in the least related to you. Would it not be brazen effrontery on your part to be at all disrespectful to an old man or an old woman? It is true that sometimes they have certain whims that may perhaps look ridiculous to you, but although you should be inclined to laugh at their ravings, never appear to be doing so. If an older man or woman scold you, be careful never to raise your voice against him, but keep quiet, or if possible excuse

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yourself as best you can. Any kind of excuse will do in order to escape a thrashing or a severe scolding, provided it proves acceptable; but take care not to be caught lying: this could but add to the latter's resentment. To get out of a bad predicament a little deceit is not forbidden, but not everybody can use it with good results; so be careful about it".

Lately, when paying a visit to *Basilig* at Pansian, his daughters set the table (in the Isneg way, of course) for him, and partook of the food only after their father had finished his own meal, although this is not required by custom.

In general the Isneg have a high regard for their parents and elders, although in our eyes their conduct may sometimes seem to be lacking in outward signs of respect. Their standard of etiquette and politeness is not exactly the same as our own. An Isneg child calls its parents "father" and "mother", and a usual title of respect for aged people is *kakay*, but for the rest it is not very demonstrative.

So, when an Isneg mother recently came to visit her son at my house, the other boys repeatedly told him that his mother was there, but he did not move in the least: the old woman had to go and look for him herself somewhere around the house. Nevertheless that boy had asked me on a former occasion to be allowed to stop going to school in order to help his widowed mother with the wages he would be able to earn that way.

To be convinced that Isneg children respect their elders, although most all outward signs common to our own code are usually absent, it is sufficient to observe their behavior and that of their elders, whenever something untoward has happened. Isneg children look like angels, if you compare their attitude and whole demeanor with that of older men and women, who shout and gesticulate and allow the whole neighborhood to know what happened, without having to go out of its way to listen to the conversation. Boys and girls usually keep quiet when their parents are angry, while in the case of older people it is a question of proving who has the loudest voice, the one that carries the farthest: among the Isneg, the biggest shouter usually gains the victory.

An unmannerly person is called *tordroñ*; this epithet, however, is only applied as far as I know, to a person who drinks directly from the *uriđ*, a bamboo that is used for fetching water, instead of using a cup.

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592 562 578 [201] wife. Especially when the women have attained a more or less advanced age, their tongue usually rules the household; and in this they have a very sharp-cutting instrument indeed. The husband may occasionally vindicate his authority, but most of the time he shrinks from the women's displeasure. Besides, as a last resort, they always have their tears ready at hand; I have assisted more than once, although involuntarily, at family scenes in which the quarrel ended with a flow of tears on the part of the wife and subsequent awkwardness in the manner of the more or less aggressive husband, who finally could find no other way out but meekly to explain, to try to soothe, and to submit. An old woman, be she married or widowed, has generally more than one say in the family. And if a woman has been consecrated a shamaness while in her early childhood, then she commands the respect not only of the household but of her neighbors as well, or rather inspires them with a kind of reverential awe, especially if she is advanced in years.

To resume, both parties help each other in their own way: the husband has a woman to look after his daily needs, and the wife, although taking the lion's share of the work, does not lack compensation in the fact that from now on she has a ready listener whenever she wants to pronounce one of her philippics.

837 As has been amply shown in the preceding pages, and as will appear even more clearly from what will be said of divorce, there can be no question among the Isneg of allowing anybody access to one's wife or of exchanging wives with another man.

831 ●593 Do Isneg husbands and wives love each other? It has been said about other tribes, here in the Mountain Province, that in their case marriage is nothing else but a juxtaposition of two people, a man and a woman, that the husband is more like a stranger to his wife, that mutual love between husband and wife is something completely unknown. This may perhaps be true with some of them, although I doubt very much if such sweeping statements are entirely consonant with the facts. But does it apply to the Isneg? It must be conceded that in the question of marital love, just as in that of gratitude, outward manifestations are exceedingly sparse among the Isneg. It is also a fact that husband and wife never or almost never work together, which after all is not exactly peculiar to primitive people. But can we truly say that mutual love is unknown between an Isneg husband and his wife? I should answer most emphatically in the negative: Isneg man and wife most certainly love each other. Nevertheless it

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is not an easy matter to prove the statement by concrete instances, as such a thing as marital love,—which by the way is rarely manifested outwardly among the Isneg, as has just been stated,—is usually not patent to every passer-by, to whatsoever tribe or race the people in question may belong.

A few previous statements referring to the position of husband and wife in the Isneg family, may suggest that mutual love between both exists to a certain degree. One concrete example to be cited will, however, go farther as evidence, the more so that at the time the couple in question were already advanced in years and of an age at which marital love is usually on the wane, at least as far as outward manifestations are concerned. Now, one cannot deduce from a single example that all Isneg husbands and wives are exceedingly fond of each other: *ab uno disce omnes* may sometimes be considered as a rough working rule, but it will hardly do as a scientific principle. But this instance clearly shows at least that mutual love between husband and wife is not something unknown among the Isneg, and, although Isneg families differ very much the one from the other, one will be forced to conclude that, if such mutual consideration can be found so clearly and patently with an old couple, there will probably be found among the Isneg at least a certain proportion of young married people to whom marital love is not an unknown quantity. I myself, who have been living among them for a considerable period (some five years at the time this is written, early 1931), am convinced that Isneg husbands and wives usually love each other very much; but it should never be forgotten that it is very hard to cite striking examples of such love that may have come to the notice of an outsider, when one remembers how little demonstrative the generality of Isneg are.

Let us come to the anecdote in question. In February 1926, on the day I left Butaw for Solsona, *Balúkat*, one of my carriers, a man about fifty years old, came to me before we started on our journey and entreated me to allow him to lead me by a little detour instead of following the straight path. The evening before, he said, he had been talking to his wife about my appearance in those quarters, and she had evinced much eagerness to see me. Now if I would kindly follow him, we should not lose very much time, and it would allow him to grant the wish of the old girl. I consented to the proposal, and when we arrived at the place where the woman had promised to meet us when coming from her field, *Balúkat* had barely espied her,

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593 when he called out: " Here he is, now take a look at him ". At this juncture I do not know whether the wonder and astonishment that could be read all over the woman's face was any greater than the joy that radiated from old *Balúkat*'s eyes at having been able to give so much satisfaction to his wife. The first period of bewilderment and surprise being over, Mrs. *Balúkat* put down her basket, and both husband and wife started distributing fruits and vegetables to the whole company, putting aside the best part for the object of the old girl's wonderment. I am sorry not to be able after this lapse of time to write down the exact conversation that went on between the two; but I remember most distinctly that the whole trend of the dialogue showed clearly and patently how grateful the old woman was toward her husband for having granted her an entertainment which in her eyes was more than splendid, and how pleased the old man was for having been able to bring about the meeting in question.

852 After the birth of the first child, the young married couple *magpísi-*, which means that they prepare a certain amount of native sweets or cakes, called *písi-* on this occasion, and bring them to the parents of the husband. They themselves, however, are not allowed to eat any of them. The purpose of the *písi-* ceremony is to cause the child to grow up quickly and to protect it against sickness.

776 Besides *Sisína*, who is invoked at the time of the *amómān*, in case
593 the latter happens while a *sǎy-ám* sacrifice is in progress, there is another female spirit, called *Si-rápan*, who is supposed to have some influence on the relations between husband and wife. *Si-rápan* cleans their mind, as the Isneg put it, which means that she helps them to understand one another well and to be free from jealousy, quarrelsomeness and so on, provided their habits are to her liking. Married people who are displeasing to *Si-rápan* " are not taken care of by her and come to grief ".

### 2. *Property and Inheritance*

421 Husband and wife retain each their own property, whether movable or immovable (fields and so on), separately, and whatever they obtain, either by inheritance from their respective parents or other relatives, or through their own personal exertions, remains their own exclusively. The husband has no more right to his wife's belongings than the latter has to her husband's. Just to give an example: no man can sell his wife's *ikó* knife, nor any woman her husband's headax.

252 412 [415] then hulls it by pounding it with a wooden pestle in a mortar fashioned of a two-foot section of a hardwood log, set on end and hollowed out. The woman then winnows it by cleverly tossing it in an oval-shaped tray woven of rattan. There will often be a set of these mortars with the women companionably pounding together, using a sort of chant.

593 854 [842] The relatives are affectionate, and family ties are strong all through life. The family life is a happy one. Babies are much desired and receive a great deal of loving care. Their wants are promptly supplied, and no little one cries its heart out for lack 524 857 of a mother's loving arms. The small girls do not have dolls to play with but use the babies instead. Also, instead of little play houses, they early begin to play house by helping their mothers in the big houses. Many of the small chores about the house are done by the children. But they also have plenty of time for games. [869] swimming, and other amusements. As they grow older, the girls, of course, follow the work of the mother: housework, washing, taking care of the pigs and chickens, carrying water in jars on their heads from the spring, farming, and other duties. The boys cheerfully work with their fathers in gathering wood, building houses, granaries, chicken coops, bamboo fences, etc., and in fishing and hunting. They early learn the lore of the woods; so that a boy of seven here can take much better care of himself in the open than the average Eagle Boy Scout in the United States. [861] The children are taught a proper decorum; but corporal punishment is rare. A little scolding usually keeps them in order.

226 Sometimes the fish are poisoned with tobacco
[82] for the juice derived from the berries of the *tuba* bush. Also several types of fish traps are used.

224 Deer and wild pigs are hunted with dogs. Wild pigs are also trapped in their runways. The meat thus obtained is divided with fellow hunters and among neighbors. The hunting technique is quite communistic.

## SOCIETY

621 The government of the Apayaos is simple. In
622 each family the man rules supreme and orders his wo-
[595] man what to do. This is the unit.

[361] A group of from 15 to 30 families build their houses near each other, *babalay*, being joined together for mutual aid and protection under one head man,
[57] *maingel*, who holds his position because he is the na-
[554] tural leader, is wealthy, and is the stongest and fiercest
622 warrior. The *maingel* wears a red turban on his head
624 and his arms are tattooed to the shoulders. He is absolute ruler; but has several advisory assistants, *pangmarwan*, who likewise have won their position through ability. The next best man to the *maingel*, is his number one assistant and so on. The common man may advise a *pangmarwan*. Upon the death of the *maingel* the number one *pangmarwan* takes his place.
627 The *maingel* and *pangmarwans* sit as a court to judge
692 any one who has broken the common law. Disputes between individuals are settled by intermediary peace
681 makers. It is notable that the fines are not paid to the government, but to the injured party, who receives the suitable indemnity. This may be in the form of jars, beads, animals, and other valuables.

# A CHAPTER FROM THE STORY OF HATAN AND HIS FAMILY

152 Abbiawan went on an adventure to seek for re-
593 nown in brave deeds because he envied his brother
578 Ewagan for being a such a famous warrior. Abbia-wan set forth to try to kill Ewagan. Then all the brothers, well armed with spears, accompanied Abbiawan, intending to kill their brother, Ewagan. A fight ensued between the brothers. Finding out that that their brother Ewagan could not be killed, they decided to challenge Ewagan one by one, with shield and spear.

578 Abbiawan and Ewagan first faced each other. While the fight was going on between these two brothers, Imlang joined in to help Abbiawan. At the first attack of Ewagan on his two brothers, the shield of Imlang was cut to pieces and Imlang called for help from his other brothers. When he called for help, Haowan volunteered to challenge Ewagan.

Another fight ensued. At the first attack of Ewagan, the shield of Haowan was also cut in pieces. Because Haowan could no longer withstand the attack, he withdrew and cried for help. Hinadolan came to his aid. They fought with spears.

In this fight Ewagan was a bit afraid of Hinadolan because his spear was very big and a shield would not stop it. So Ewagan retreated. All of a sudden, Ewagan fiercely renewed the attack in the